

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 AEC-11 ACDA-19 IO-12

OIC-04 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9777

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1914

E. O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: US STATEMENT TO NAC, APRIL 17

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S STATEMENT
ON TACTICS, TIMING, USE OF BRACKETS AND NEGOTIATING
FLEXIBILITY AT THE NEXT ROUND OF MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY
TALKS. NAC DISCUSSION REPORTED SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT

TACTICS

-- WE AGREE FULLY THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD AT THE OUTSET
OF MPT-4 STATE FIRMLY THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO BASKET III
FOR INCREASING HUMAN CONTACTS AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION.
THERE IS A LONG AND CLEAR ALLIANCE RECORD ON THIS SCORE.

-- WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, UNNECESSARILY
OR PUPOSELY DELAY WORK ON OTHER ISSUES. WE WILL NEED
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TO MOVE AHEAD IN AN ORDERLY WAY ON ALL BASKETS, IN ORDER
TO COMPLETE WORK ON MANDATES AND ON THE HOST OF PROCEDURAL

ARRANGEMENTS.

-- GIVEN DELIBERATE PACE OF WORK AT MPT THUS FAR, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT WE SCARCELY NEED TO WORRY ABOUT REACHING FINAL AGREEMENT ON ANY SINGLE MANDATE UNTIL NEAR THE VERY END OF THE NEXT ROUND.

TIMING

-- WE AGREE WITH THE AMBASSADOR TO DENMARK THAT THE END OF JUNE IS INDEED A TARGET DATE OR "GUIDELINE" AND NOT A "DEAD-LINE," BUT A "GUIDELINE" OR TARGET MEET ON APRIL 19 AND 26 FOR FINAL REVIEW OF APPROACH TO MPT-4 AND CONSIDERATION OF EC-9 PAPER ON TACTICS (USNATO 1882). END SUMMARY.

1. MPT PROGRESS TO DATE. ITALY, PORTUGAL, NETHERLANDS, AND TURKEY COMMENTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN MPT-3. FRENCH PERMREP AGREED THAT RESULTS WERE INSUBSTANTIAL, ADDING THAT THIS WAS BECAUSE MPT HAD NOT YET MADE FINAL DECISIONS AND STILL HAD ALL QUESTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION. IN PERSONAL STATEMENT, UK CHARGE THOMSON BELIEVED THAT ALLIES HAVE DONE BETTER IN HELSINKI THAN IN VIENNA, LARGELY DUE TO MORE EFFECTIVE PREPARATIONS IN NATO FOR CSCE.

2. TIMING. ITALIAN, DUTCH, TURKISH AND CANADIAN PERMREPS STRESSED THAT END OF JUNE IS A GUIDELINE, NOT A FIRM COMMITMENT, AND ALLIES SHOULD NOT AGREE TO A CONFERENCE UNLESS MPT PRODUCES SATISFACTORY RESULTS. UK REP BELIEVED THAT IF ALLIES STICK TOGETHER AND MAINTAIN SUPPORT OF NEUTRALS, THEY CAN EXPLOIT FACT THAT GREATEST TIME PRESSURE IS ON SOVIETS. FRENCH PERMREP EMPHASIZED THAT FRANCE WAS NOT COMMITTED TO BREZHNEV-KISSINGER SEQUENCE OF EVENTS. HOWEVER, HE SAW GOOD CHANCE FOR CSCE MINISTERIAL, PERHAPS ON JUNE 25 OR 30, BUT ONLY IF MPT RESULTS WERE SATISFACTORY.

3. NETHERLANDS CONSIDERED THAT ALLIES SHOULD MAKE NO FORMAL COMMITMENT TO OPENING CONFERENCE AT END OF JUNE OR TO 3-STAGE FORMAT UNLESS MPT HAD PRODUCED RESULTS FOR THE WEST BY THE END OF MAY. BELGIUM BELIEVED IT WOULD BE A "CATASTROPHE" IF ALLIES GAVE GREATER PRIORITY TO MEETING A DATE THAN TO SATISFACTORY SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOME.

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4. TACTICS. PERREPS DID NOT HAVE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF TACTICS, EXCEPT TO REITERATE POSITION OF MOST ALLIES AT APRIL 11-12 SPC DISCUSSION (USNATO 1857) THAT WEST SHOULD LEAVE SOVIETS IN NO DOUBT AS TO IMPORTANCE OF PROGRESS ON FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES. AT BELGIAN SUGGESTION, COUNCIL ASKED SENIOR POLADS TO MEET ON APRIL 19 TO REVIEW EC-9 PAPER ON TACTICS FOR MPT-4 (USNATO 882).

5. USE OF BRACKETS. THERE WAS LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF USE OF BRACKETS. DUTCH PERMREP, ECHOED BY BELGIUM, ARGUED THAT SINCE SOVIETS WERE UNLIKELY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AND THOUGHT THEY HAD CSCE IN THE BAG ANYWAY, ALLIES HAD STARK CHOICE: POSTPONE CONFERENCE ALTOGETHER OR PUT BRACKETS AROUND KEY POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT. THE ONE APPROACH WHICH THE HAGUE WOULD CATEGORICALLY REJECT WOULD BE ANY EFFORT TO COVER UP DIFFERENCES. FRANCE AND UK REPS WERE CONCERNED THAT BRACKETS WOULD PERMIT SOVIETS TO GET OFF THE HOOK TOO EASILY AND COULD BE DIVISIVE AMONG ALLIES. IN GREEK VIEW, ALLIES SHOULD NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT BRACKETS AROUND KEY ISSUES, BUT COULD USE THEM FOR LESSER POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

6. AGENDA ISSUES. THERE WERE NO NEW PROPOSALS OR COMPROMISES ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. IN DISCUSSION OF FREER MOVEMENT, HOWEVER, CANADIAN PERMREP SAID THE CURRENT EXPERIENCES OF CANADIAN TRAVELERS IN HUNGARY MADE OTTAWA HIGHLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT EASTERN INTENTIONS TOWARDS MAKING IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN CONTACTS. HE REPORTED THAT HUNGARIAN- BORN CANADIAN CITIZENS, MANY OF WHOM FLED IN WAKE OF SOVIET REPRESSION OF 1956 HUNGARIAN UPRISING, HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY HARASSED DURING RETURN VISITS TO HUNGARY. ALTHOUGH THESE TRAVELERS HAD RECEIVED THE CORRECT TRAVEL DOCUMENTATION AT THE HUNGARIAN EMBASSY IN OTTAWA, SHARPLY INCREASING NUMBERS OF THEM HAD HAD THEIR CANADIAN PASSPORTS LIFTED IN HUNGARY AND WERE REQUIRED TO GO THROUGH ELABORATE FORMALITIES IN ORDER RETURN TO CANADA. (COMMENT: WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY INFORMATION EMBASSY BUDAPEST CAN PROVIDE ON THIS REPORT. END COMMENT.)

7. SITE FOR SECOND STAGE. FRG, ITALY AND PORTUGAL REITERATED THEIR OBJECTIONS TO HOLDING CSCE SECOND PHASE, I. E., MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES AND SUB- COMMITTEES, IN HELSINKI. FRG PERMREP SAID HE WOULD SHORTLY CIRCULATE A PAPER OUTLINING ORGANIZATIONAL, TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL DRAWBACKS OF HELSINKI. ITALY COULD ACCEPT GENEVA OR VIENNA.
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8. NAC COORDINATION. SEVERAL PERMREPS POINTED OUT THAT GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO REVIEW RESULTS OF MPT BEFORE NEGOTIATORS COULD FINALLY ENDORSE THEM. BELGIAN PERMREP ARGUED, BECAUSE NAC WAS " CENTER OF GRAVITY" AND DUTCH PERMREP AGREED, " BECAUSE WE ARE TOUGHER THAN OUR NEGOTIATORS," THAT NAC WOULD HAVE TO GIVE ITS APPROVAL TO ANY " PACKAGE DEAL" EMERGING FROM HELSINKI. RUMSFELD

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